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USSR Report

HUMAN RESOURCES

(FOUO 1/81)



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DEMOGRAPHY

BRUK ON ETHNO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES IN THE USSR

Moscow ISTORIYA SSSR in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 80 pp 24-47

[Article by S. I. Bruk: "Ethno-Demographic Processes in the USSR — Based on Postwar Census Materials"]

[Text] Rapid socioeconomic progress in our country is the foundation for the unfolding of demographic processes in the Soviet Union. The socialist state follows a demographic policy whose purpose is to affect demographic processes in conformity with the needs of social development.

The 24th and 25th CPSU congresses posed many questions related to demographic policy. The report by A. N. Kosygin at the 25th CPSU Congress, entitled "Basic Directions of Development of the National Economy for 1976-1980," emphasized the need for rational use of labor resources because natural growth in the work force will decrease in the 1980's.¹ This report envisioned important demographic steps;² many of them have already been taken.

In his talk at the 3 April 1974 meeting to discuss the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers entitled "Steps Towards the Further Development of Agriculture of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR,"³ the Accountability Report of the Central Committee at the 25th Party Congress,⁴ and his statement at the October 1976 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee,⁵ L. I. Brezhnev pointed to the need to consider demographic factors in economic activity and influence their development more actively.

Postwar censuses testify to the enormous successes achieved by our country in solving population problems during the period of developed socialism. The primary results of the purposeful policies of the Communist Party and Soviet Government make an impressive list: a higher rate of population growth than other developed countries; a sharp increase in longevity and a reduction of the mortality rate (especially infant mortality); almost complete eradication of the consequences of the war in the age-sex structure of the population; a steadily accelerating rate of urbanization and a whole series of steps to promote elimination of the fundamental differences between the city and the countryside, between agricultural and industrial labor; purposeful economic and social measures to provide labor resources to different regions of the country; profound cultural transformations which eliminated the formerly great differences among republics and provided a

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high level of cultural development for all peoples and social groups; the merging and inter-nationality solidarity of the peoples of our country as the result of our Leninist nationality policy; and, the formation of a new historical community, the Soviet people.

Soviet historians, ethnographers, economists, and specialists in other branches of science have devoted many works to ethnographic processes in the USSR based on the findings of the 1959 and 1970 censuses. Census materials were used to a significant degree in such major, general works as "Sovremennyye Etnicheskiye Protsessy v SSSR" [Contemporary Ethnic Processes in the USSR] (2nd ed, Moscow, 1977). There have also been special articles devoted to this question.⁶

A regular census of the USSR population was carried out on 17 January 1979. Previous general censuses in our country were made in 1897, 1920, 1926, 1939, 1959, and 1970. The 1920 census, of course, was organized and conducted under the direct guidance of V. I. Lenin. Specialists from different fields (statisticians, economists, geographers, ethnographers, linguists, and others) have participated actively in preparation for all the censuses and, in particular, in working out the basic methodological issues.

The goal of the 1979 census was to determine the total population of the country and its distribution by distinct populated points, rural Soviets, cities, rayons, districts, oblasts, krays, and republics; the composition of the population by sex, age, family status, nationality, language, educational level, involvement in education, sources of the means of existence, occupation, distribution by sectors of the national economy and types of production, social groups, length of work, and other characteristics.

Censuses in the USSR use a broader program than in most countries of the world. Specifically, in view of the needs of nationality and cultural development, the census programs include questions on the nationality, native language, and other languages of the USSR peoples which the subject of the census speaks fluently (the last question was first introduced in the 1970 census). None of the censuses conducted in other countries have so many ethnic-linguistic questions (questions on native language are common, and nationality is occasionally referred to, but only in a few cases is fluency in a second language asked).

The program of the 1979 census was considerably broader than the program of the preceding 1970 census. It provides more detailed information on the family. The question on marital status used to be phrased this way: "Are you at present married (yes, no)?" Now the question is worded somewhat differently: "Marital status: Married ; widow /widower; never married; divorced; separated)." This new wording of the question is extremely important from the standpoint of analyzing demographic trends.

The census contains a new question that permits more accurate forecasts of the birth rate: "For women — tell how many children you have had."⁷ Without such data scientists were unable to anticipate the sharp drop in the birthrate that occurred in the early or mid-1960's in most of the developed countries of the world and led during the 1970's to deaths exceeding births

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in a number of Central and Western European countries. The most recent census includes a question that is very important for determining population mobility: "Length of continuous residence in the particular populated point."

A vast program of processing census findings is planned. But even now, when only the first general results have been published,⁸ we can take note of the great political, economic, and scientific importance of the census. Its findings will provide practical workers and scientists with the data necessary to plan continued development of our country.

In comparison with the ongoing count, the census provides supplementary information necessary for efficient management of the economy and society.⁹ The ongoing count lacks such information as: number of families in the country and their composition; population sizes of various peoples living in the country; the number of people who consider a particular language their native language. The census makes it possible to obtain comprehensive, multifaceted descriptions of the population which are extremely important for determining the size and composition of labor resources, establishing the nature of population reproduction in coming decades, and so on. A comparison of this material against the material of earlier censuses will permit careful analysis of ethnodemographic processes occurring in the USSR during the period of developed socialism and sound forecasts of the future.

Dynamics and Natural Growth of Population

The population of the USSR on 17 January 1979 was 262,436,000 persons (including permanent population and foreigners temporarily residing in the country). The permanent population which was used to calculate figures for the social and economic structure of the population was 262,080,000.¹⁰

The population of our country (within current borders) has changed as follows:¹¹

1913	—	159,200,000
1917	—	163,000,000
1940	—	194,100,000
1950	—	178,500,000
1959	—	208,800,000
1970	—	241,700,000
1979	—	262,400,000

Despite the enormous losses associated with two world wars and the civil war, our country's population has grown quite rapidly. On the eve of the Great Patriotic War the USSR had 31.1 million (or 19.1 percent) more people than prerevolutionary Russia; in 1979 the country had 99.4 million (or 51.0 percent) more than prerevolutionary Russia.

The USSR lost more than 20 million persons during World War II. The so-called indirect losses (decrease in the birth rate and increase in the mortality rate) were also substantial. Population did not regain the pre-war level until early 1955, nine and one-half years after the war's end. In the next 24 years the population of the country increased 68.3 million or 35.2 percent, and average annual growth during this time was almost 3 million.

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Table 1. Change in the Population of the Union Republics*

	Population		1979 as % of	
	1950	1970	1950	1970
USSR	178,547,000	241,720,000	147.0	108.6
RSFSR	101,438,000	130,079,000	135.6	105.7
Ukrainian SSR	36,588,000	47,126,000	136.0	105.6
Belorussian SSR	7,709,000	9,002,000	124.0	106.2
Uzbek SSR	6,264,000	11,799,000	245.7	130.4
Kazakh SSR	6,522,000	13,009,000	225.2	112.9
Georgian SSR	3,494,000	4,686,000	143.6	107.0
Azerbaijan SSR	2,859,000	5,117,000	210.8	117.8
Lithuanian SSR	2,573,000	3,128,000	132.1	108.6
Moldavian SSR	2,290,000	3,569,000	172.4	110.6
Latvian SSR	1,944,000	2,364,000	129.7	106.6
Kirghiz SSR	1,716,000	2,934,000	205.7	120.3
Tajik SSR	1,509,000	2,900,000	251.9	131.1
Armenian SSR	1,347,000	2,492,000	225.0	121.6
Turkmen SSR	1,197,000	2,159,000	230.5	127.8
Estonian SSR	1,097,000	1,356,000	133.6	108.1

* "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g. Statist. Vezhegodnik" [The USSR Economy in 1978. Statistical Yearbook], Moscow, 1979, pp 10, 11; "Naseleniye SSSR po Dannym Vsesoyuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1979 goda" [The USSR Population According to the Data of the 1979 Census], p 4; "Narodonaseleniye Stran Mira. Spravochnik" [Population of the World's Countries. Reference Book], Moscow, 1979, p 13.

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In the last nine years, between the two most recent censuses, the population increased 20.7 million, which is 2.3 million a year (average annual growth was 0.92 percent a year).

The changes in population in the Union republics over the last 29 years can be seen from the figures in Table 1.

The population of the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus as well as Kazakhstan taken together more than doubled between 1950 and 1979 (the increase was 117.8 percent), while the increase in population was just 24 percent in the Belorussian SSR, 31.6 percent in the Baltic republics, 35.6 in the RSFSR, 36 percent in the Ukraine, and 72.4 percent in Moldavia. Quite marked differences can be observed in population dynamics within republics also. In the RSFSR between 1939 and 1979 population growth was 133 percent in the Far East, 73 percent in Eastern Siberia, 50 percent in the North Caucasus, 48% in the Urals, and 40 percent in Western Siberia; at the same time the population of the Volga-Vyatka regions dropped by four percent and the population of the Central Chernozem zone decreased by 17 percent. In the Ukraine the population of the southern region rose by 40 percent while that of the southwest increased only nine percent. In Kazakhstan the population of Pavlodarskaya and Karagandinskaya oblasts increased 300-350 percent while the population of Gur'yevskaya, Alma-Atinskaya, and Ural'skaya oblasts rose only 30-50 percent.¹²

The population in the autonomous national regions also grew unevenly. Between 1940 and 1979 the population rose 36.9 percent in the autonomous republics, 47.2 in the autonomous oblasts, and 127.1 percent in the autonomous okrugs. The greatest population growth was observed in the Komi ASSR (3.5 times), the Yakut ASSR (more than doubled), and the republics of the North Caucasus and Transcaucasus (15-90 percent); the smallest growth was observed in the Volga republics (in most of them population growth was just 15-20 percent, and population actually dropped 15 percent in the Mordvinian ASSR).¹³

In the period from 1970 to 1979 population continued to grow rapidly in the republics of Central Asia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, increasing by 23.3 percent at the same time as population of the RSFSR, Ukraine, and Belorussia rose just 5.7 percent. Significant differences in population dynamics could also be observed within the republics. Between 1970 and 1979 there was an increase in population of 17.9 percent in the Far East, 10.5 percent in the North Caucasus, and 9.3 percent in East Siberia; at the same time the population of the Volga-Vyatka region decreased by 0.5 percent and the population of the Central Chernozem zone dropped 2.5 percent. In the Ukraine the population of the southern region rose 11.8 percent while that of the southwest increased just 4.3 percent.

The population of the autonomous national regions also grew unevenly. Thus, in the last nine years the population of the Yakut ASSR rose 26 percent, while population in the Komi, Tuva, Kabardino-Balkarskaya, and Dagestanskaya ASSR's rose 14-16 percent. Population increase in the Bashkir, Mari, and Karelian ASSR's was only 1-3 percent, and the population of the Mordvinian ASSR dropped four percent during this period. Population is growing very fast in certain autonomous okrugs where large mineral deposits are being developed. The population of the Khanty-Mansi and Yamalo-Nenets autonomous okrugs doubled in the nine-year period.¹⁴

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The uneven growth of population for particular reasons is explained by differences in both natural and mechanical factors. Before the war (and also after for certain regions) the latter factor was decisive in fluctuations in population growth by regions. During industrialization of the USSR population moved to the underdeveloped regions. In recent decades differences in population growth for most regions of the USSR have resulted mainly from reproduction characteristics: the ratio between the birthrate and the mortality rate.

Data on population reproduction (birth rate, mortality rate, and natural growth) are not directly singled out during conduct of the census, but it is possible to make indirect judgements concerning their influence on the dynamics and location of population, change in nationality composition, and numerous other indicators (see Table 2 below).

Table 2. Natural Change in Population in USSR Territory, 1913-1978 (per 1,000 population)*

Year	Births	Deaths	Natural Growth
1913	45.4	29.1	16.4
1926	44.0	20.3	23.7
1940	31.2	18.0	13.2
1950	26.7	9.7	17.0
1960	24.9	7.1	17.8
1965	18.4	7.3	11.1
1970	17.4	8.2	9.2
1975	18.1	9.3	8.8
1977	18.1	9.6	8.5
1978	18.2	9.7	8.5

*"Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978g.", op. cit., p 24.

The concern of the Soviet State for comprehensive development of the individual, the high level of education and culture, full employment of the entire able-bodied population, and the steady growth in the standard of living of Soviet people have had an enormous impact on the direction of demographic processes and radically change the parameters of the birth rate, mortality rate, longevity, and natural growth.

Before the October Revolution Russia had a high rate of population growth (one of the highest in the world at that time), despite a significant mortality rate. This was based on a very high birth rate. With the reduction in the mortality rate after the revolution (the birth rate also decreased in the first two decades of Soviet power, but not significantly), growth became even greater.

Abrupt changes in the structure of natural growth appeared after World War II. Already by 1950, just five years after the bloody and devastating war, the country had managed to reduce the mortality rate to barely one-half of the 1940 rate. This was accomplished chiefly by a sharp decrease in infant

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mortality (in 1930 269 infants out of 1,000 died before reaching 12 months of age; in 1940 it was 167, in 1950 — 81, in 1960 — 35, and in recent years — 23-27).¹⁵

The decade of the 1950's had a stable birth rate (ranging from 24.9 to 26.7 births per thousand population in different years), a decrease in the mortality rate (from 9.7 to 7.2), and fairly high natural growth (between 17.0 and 18.1). During this period the Soviet Union had one of the lowest figures for overall mortality rates and one of the highest figures for natural growth among the highly developed countries.

The demographic situation changed greatly in the first half of the 1960's when the average annual birth rate declined by 5-7 births per 1,000 population, the mortality rate stabilized at its earlier level or even rose slightly (reflecting a sharp increase in the proportion of older people in the population), and natural growth went down from 17.8 per 1,000 population in 1960 to 9.7 in 1967. Natural growth in population remained almost unchanged for the next decade (a slight increase in the birth rate was virtually matched by an increase in the mortality rate). On the average between 1973 and 1978 the birth rate in the USSR was 18.1 per 1,000 population per year, while the mortality rate was 9.2 and natural growth was 8.9.

Despite these changes in demographic indicators, the USSR today continues to have a low overall mortality rate and a higher rate of natural growth than most of the developed capitalist countries, which have seen a rapid decline in natural growth in recent years. Thus, the average annual natural growth in the other countries of Europe during the 1970's was 4.2 per 1,000 population (with a birth rate of 14.4 and a mortality rate of 10.2), including growth of just 1.2 per 1,000 population in the countries of Western and Northern Europe. The number of deaths has exceeded the number of births in recent years in West Germany, Austria, Luxemburg, and certain other countries. Natural population growth in 1978 was 6.5 per 1,000 population in the United States, 7.9 in Canada, 8.1 in Australia, 8.4 in New Zealand, and 8.7 per 1,000 population in Japan.¹⁶ Natural growth in these countries is lower than in the USSR, even though most of them have received significant numbers of young immigrants, whose natural growth is higher than that of the local population.

The general mortality rate in the USSR has decreased to barely two-sevenths of the prerevolutionary level (one-eleventh for infant mortality); it has been cut in half since 1940. A decrease in the mortality rate is observed for all age groups. This has resulted in an increase in longevity from 32 years in 1896-97 to 44 years in 1926-27, 50 years in 1938-39, and 70 years (64 for men and 74 for women) in 1971-72.¹⁷

As for the slight decline in the birth rate, it can be explained by the historical tendency, observed in all countries, for this indicator to decline from the biological maximum toward a level determined by conscious control of family size.

Natural population growth is higher in rural areas, which can be explained by the higher birth rate there (the mortality rate is almost the same in the

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cities and the countryside). In 1913 the birth rate was 60 percent higher in the countryside than in the city (48.8 and 30.2 births per 1,000 population respectively). In the years before World War II and the first years after the war the birth rates in the cities and countryside were almost the same, but in the mid-1950's they again became markedly different. In 1960 the rural birth rate was 27.8 per 1,000 population, while in the urban communities it was 21.9; corresponding figures for 1975 were 21.1 and 16.1; for 1970 they were 18.7 and 16.4; and, for 1978 the figures were 20.1 and 17.1 births per thousand population.¹⁸

The differences in population reproduction (especially birth rate) are much greater when broken down by Union republics (see Table 3 below).

Fluctuation in the birth rate by republics was relatively small before World War II. The figures in Table 3 refute the widespread idea that the birth rate in Central Asia and the Caucasus has always been much higher than in the other regions of the country. In 1940 only Armenia and Kazakhstan had a much higher birth rate than the USSR average while Estonia and Latvia were far below average (these two republics have been distinguished by a low birth rate for many decades). There was little change in 1950 either, when Moldavia joined the group of republics with high birth rates and the birth rate in Armenia declined significantly. But after 1950 a sharp differentiation in birth rates began between the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus (except for Georgia, where the birth rate has never been particularly high) on the one hand, and the other republics on the other. The decline in the birth rate which began in the 1960's basically involved only the second group of republics. The birth rate in the Central Asian republics today is more than twice as high as the birth rate of the RSFSR, Ukraine, Belorussia, and Baltic republics and 50 percent higher than in the other republics.

The differences between republics are even greater in terms of levels of natural growth, and the differences are increasing as time passes (see Table 4 below).

Many factors influence this indicator, but it appears that two are decisive: all the republics with high birth rates have a higher percentage of rural population and a tradition of early marriages (especially for women).

The marriage rate (number of marriages registered per 1,000 population) in the USSR is slightly over 10 (10.7 in 1978),¹⁹ but there are significant regional differences in this indicator. It is lower in the republics with a high birth rate where the percentage of children is higher (the marriage rate in the Transcaucasus and Central Asia in 1970 was 6.8-9.2).²⁰

The extension of the student years, particularly the spread of higher education, causes people to enter marriage today at a more mature age than before. The number of married persons in the 16-19 year age group (per 1,000 persons of the particular sex and age) has changed as follows in recent years:²¹

Year	Men	Women
1939	27	140
1959	26	112
1970	21	105

Table 3. Natural Change in the Population of the Union Republic (per 1,000 population)*

Republic	1940			1960			1978		
	Birth Rate	Mortality Rate	Natural Growth	Birth Rate	Mortality Rate	Natural Growth	Birth Rate	Mortality Rate	Natural Growth
USSR	31.2	18.0	13.2	24.9	7.1	17.8	18.2	9.7	8.5
RSFSR	33.0	20.6	12.4	23.2	7.4	15.8	15.9	10.3	5.6
Ukrainian SSR	27.3	14.3	13.0	20.5	6.9	13.6	14.7	10.7	4.0
Belorussian SSR	26.8	13.1	13.7	24.4	6.6	17.8	15.9	9.1	6.8
Uzbek SSR	33.8	13.2	20.6	39.9	6.0	33.9	33.9	6.9	27.0
Kazakh	40.8	21.4	19.4	37.3	6.6	30.7	24.4	7.4	17.3
Georgian SSR	27.4	8.8	18.6	24.7	6.5	18.2	17.7	8.0	9.7
Azerbaijan SSR	29.4	14.7	14.7	42.7	6.7	36.0	24.9	6.7	18.2
Lithuanian SSR	23.0	13.0	10.0	22.5	7.8	14.7	15.3	10.0	5.3
Moldavian SSR	26.6	16.9	9.7	29.2	6.4	22.8	20.1	9.8	10.3
Latvian SSR	19.3	15.7	3.6	16.7	10.0	6.7	13.6	12.4	1.2
Kirghiz SSR	33.0	16.3	16.7	36.9	6.1	30.8	30.4	8.1	22.3
Tajik SSR	30.6	14.1	16.5	33.5	5.1	28.4	37.5	8.3	29.2
Armenian SSR	41.2	13.8	27.4	40.1	6.8	33.3	22.2	5.5	16.7
Turkmen SSR	36.9	19.5	17.4	42.4	6.5	35.9	34.4	8.0	26.4
Estonian SSR	16.1	17.0	-0.9	16.6	10.5	6.1	14.9	12.2	2.7

* "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g.," op. cit., pp 26, 27.

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Table 4. Natural Growth of Population by Groups of Republics, 1940-1978 (per 1,000 population)*

	1940	1960	1978
USSR	13.2	17.8	8.5
RSFSR, Ukraine, Belorussia, Latvia, and Estonia .	12.4	15.2	5.3
Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan . . .	19.2	32.8	26.6
Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Moldavia, and Armenia . . .	19.6	28.4	16.7

* "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g.," op. cit., pp 26, 27.

The tradition of early marriages until now has been characteristic of the population of Central Asia and Azerbaijan; in the Baltic republics, by contrast, marital unions are usually completed late. There has been some evening out of age upon entry into marriage in recent decades. In the republics with traditions of early marriage the brides and bridegrooms are becoming older, while in the republics with the opposite tradition they are becoming younger. This is illustrated, for example, by census data from 1959 and 1970. In 1959 in the republics of Central Asia 31.8-44.2 percent of all women in the 16-19 year age bracket were married, in 1970 the corresponding figures were 19.1-24.9 percent. But during the same period the proportion of Ukrainian women of the same age who were married rose from 10.1 to 11.2 percent, while among Belorussians it rose from 7.0 to 7.6 percent, among Georgians 10.7 to 13.4 percent, and among Latvians from 4.5 to 5.9 percent.²² The growing adoption of the small family, consisting of a married couple with children (which usually presupposes their own source of the means of existence) leads to a postponement of marital unions to more mature ages in the regions with early marriages.

On 17 January 1979 the USSR had 122.6 million married men and women (in 1970 it was 107.2 million and in 1959 it was 86.5 million). The number of married persons increased 13.4 percent in comparison with 1970. The census counted 66.3 million families, 7.6 million more than in 1970. By family size they broke down as follows: two persons — 29.7 percent; three — 28.9 percent; four — 23 percent; five or more — 18.4 percent. The average family size (family members living together) for the country as a whole is 3.5; among the urban population it is 3.3 and among the rural population — 3.8. There are great variations in the different Union republics. The average family size is 3.1 persons in Latvia and Estonia, 3.3 in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Belorussia, and Lithuania, 3.4 in Moldavia, 4 in Georgia, 4.1 in Kazakhstan, 4.6 in Kirghizia, 4.7 in Armenia, 5.1 in Azerbaijan, 5.5 in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, and 5.7 in Tajikistan. It is interesting to observe that the

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the last seven republics, the "multichild" republics, with 18.8 percent of the total population of the country have 66 percent of the largest families, with seven persons or more apiece.²³

Population Composition by Sex

All the censuses conducted in our country without exception have shown more women than men (see Table 5 below).

Table 5. Proportion of Men and Women in the Population of the Country (%)*

Year	Women	Men
1897**	51.0	49.0
1913	50.3	49.7
1926	51.7	48.3
1939	52.1	47.9
1959	55.0	45.0
1970	53.9	46.1
1979	53.3	46.7

* "Nardnoye Khozyaystvo v 1978 g.," op. cit., p 8; "SSSR po Dannym Vsesoyuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1979 Goda" [The USSR in 1979 Census Figures], p 16.

** European Russia only.

The difference between the number of men and women was fairly small before the revolution; in 1913 there were just 1 million more women than men. The situation changed considerably after World War I and the Civil War, and especially after World War II. These wars caused enormous losses, chiefly among the male population. According to the 1926 census figures there were 5 million more women than men, and the 1959 census found an even greater gap, 20.8 million more women than men. This disproportion was greater in the early postwar years. In 1951 there were 21.8 million more women than men; women made up 56 percent of the population.

The 1970 census recorded a slight decline in the gap between the number of men and women; there were 18.9 million more women and they constituted 53.9 percent of the total population instead of 55 percent in 1959. This gap had decreased significantly by 1979, when the percentage of men rose to 46.7 and there were 17.6 million more women than men. This ratio is continuing only because of the disproportion in the older age brackets. The number of men and women under the age of 50 has become the same, but women make up two-thirds of the total population in the age groups over 50. This is not just a result of wars; it also occurs because of the significantly greater longevity of women. As for newborn infants, more baby boys are born than baby girls, in our country as everywhere else in the world. However, because the girls have a lower mortality rate, by the age of 27-28 the proportion of men and women evens out.

In the USSR as a whole the proportion of men is somewhat higher in the cities than in the country (the figures in 1970 were 46.3 and 45.8 percent

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respectively), but this difference is significant only in the Ukraine (46.3 and 43.9 percent) and Belorussia (47 and 45.2 percent). In Kirghizia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Georgia the proportion of men in the cities is even lower than in the countryside. In regions where heavy industry is developed the percentage of men is generally quite high, while in areas where agriculture or light industry predominates it is usually lower. The proportion of men is especially high in regions of rapid development of heavy industrial sectors with harsh climates, in the Far North and eastern part of the country: the Komi and Yakut ASSR's and Kamchatskaya and Magadanskaya oblasts.²⁴

The population breakdown by sex differs significantly among the Union republics (see Table 6 below).

Table 6. Percentage of Women in the Total Population of the Union Republics*

Republic	1939	1959	1970	1979
USSR	52.0	55.0	53.9	53.3
RSFSR	52.8	55.4	54.4	53.8
Ukrainian SSR	52.1	55.6	54.8	54.2
Belorussian SSR	51.5	55.5	54.0	53.5
Uzbek SSR	48.4	52.2	51.3	50.9
Kazakh SSR	48.0	52.5	51.9	51.7
Georgian SSR	50.1	53.8	53.0	52.6
Azerbaijan SSR	48.7	52.4	51.5	51.2
Lithuanian SSR	52.0	54.1	53.1	52.8
Moldavian SSR	50.4	53.8	53.4	52.9
Latvian SSR	52.9	56.1	54.3	53.9
Kirghiz SSR	49.1	52.8	52.2	51.5
Tajik SSR	48.1	51.3	50.8	50.6
Armenian SSR	49.5	52.2	51.2	51.3
Turkmen SSR	48.4	51.8	50.8	50.6
Estonian SSR	53.5	56.1	54.3	53.8

* VESTNIK STATISTIKI 1980, No 1, "Statistical Appendices," p 79

Before World War II, while women were a majority in the population of the country as a whole, there were more men than women in Central Asia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. In the postwar period the number of women has exceeded the number of men in all Union republics.

The picture changes somewhat when we consider the ratio of men and women in particular peoples of the country. Even in the year of the first postwar census there were more men than women among some small peoples.

Thus, in 1959 there were more men than women among the Karakalpaks, Tuvis, and certain other peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East. The 1970 census showed that men had passed women among the Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmen, Lezghins, Ingushes, and certain other peoples.

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Urban and Rural Population

The transformation of the USSR from an agrarian to an industrial country caused rapid growth in the urban population. The swift pace of industrial development and the scientific-technical revolution in the phase of developed socialism stepped up this process even further (see Table 7 below).

Table 7. Change in the Size of Urban and Rural Population*

Year	Total Population	Urban Persons	%	Rural Persons	%
1913	159,200,000	28,500,000	18	130,700,000	82
1940	194,100,000	63,100,000	33	131,000,000	67
1959	208,800,000	100,000,000	48	108,800,000	52
1970	241,700,000	136,000,000	56	105,700,000	44
1979	262,400,000	163,600,000	62	98,800,000	38

* "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g.," op. cit., p 7.

The size of the country's urban population has increased 100.5 million since 1940, an average annual increase of 2.6 million. The sources of this growth are the migration of a significant part of the rural population to the cities, which became possible with the growth of mechanization and the increasing productivity of labor in socialist agriculture, natural growth of the population of cities, and transformation of rural towns into urban-type communities. These factors have varied in their impact at different times. As the level of urbanization has risen, the proportion of natural growth in the increase of urban population has gradually enlarged (18 percent in 1927-38, 20 percent in 1939-58, 40 percent in 1958-69, and 43 percent in 1969-78).²⁵

The urban population has increased 27.6 million since 1970, an average of more than 3 million a year. This is broken down into 12 million through natural growth in the cities and 15.6 million from transformation of rural populated points into urban ones and migration of rural inhabitants to the cities. Natural population growth in the rural areas between the censuses was more than 8.7 million, but the size of the rural population did not increase. It decreased by 6.9 million.²⁶

The percentage of urban population is highest in the old industrial regions (91 percent in Leningrad Oblast with the city of Leningrad, 89 percent in Donetskaya Oblast, 88 percent in Moscow Oblast with the city of Moscow, 85 percent in Sverdlovskaya and Voroshilovgradskaya oblasts, 82 percent in Chelyabinskaya Oblast, and 80 percent in Ivanovskaya and Dnepropetrovskaya oblasts) and also in the Far Northern regions that are unfavorable for agriculture and a number of regions in the Asiatic part of the USSR whose industrial development began in Soviet times but has proceeded especially fast (89 percent in Murmanskaya Oblast, 87 percent in Mangyshalaksкая Oblast, 85 percent in Karagandinskaya Oblast, 83 percent in Kamchatskaya Oblast,

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82 percent in Krasnovodskaya and Sakhalinskaya oblasts, and 79 percent in Khabarovskiy Kray). In oblasts where favorable conditions for the development of agriculture have already been created, the proportion of city-dwellers usually does not exceed one-third of the population (most of the oblasts in Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan and Ternopol'skaya, Rovenskaya, and Vinnitskaya oblasts of the Ukraine).²⁷

The total number of cities in the USSR on 17 January 1979 was 2,062. In addition, there are 3,852 urban-type communities in the country. More than half of the cities (1,174) appeared after the October Revolution in regions where various industrial sectors were being developed and in formerly backward national frontiers. Table 8 below shows the growth in the number of large cities and inhabitants in them.

Table 8. Growth in the Number of Large Cities and Number of Their Inhabitants*

City Size	1939	1959	1970	1979
Number of Large Cities				
100,000-500,000	78	123	188	227
500,000 and more	11	25	33	45
Number of Inhabitants in Them				
100,000-500,000	15,700,000	24,400,000	38,200,000	47,000,000
500,000 and more	12,800,000	24,200,000	37,300,000	51,800,000

* "Naseleniye SSSR po Dannym Vsesoyuznoy Perepisi...", op. cit., pp 11-15; "Itogi Vseoyuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1970 g." [Results of the 1970 All-Union Census], Vol 1, p 61.

On 17 January 1979 there were 18 cities in the USSR with more than 1 million inhabitants;²⁸ these cities had a total population of 33.1 million, 20.3 percent of all city-dwellers and 12.6 percent of the entire population. Before World War II the USSR had just two cities with more than a million population, then in 1959 it was three, and by 1979 10. The other large cities, with between 100,000 and 1,000,000 inhabitants (there were 254 of them in 1979, compared to 87 in 1939, 145 in 1959, and 211 in 1970) had a total population of 65.7 million, 40.2 percent of city-dwellers and 25.1 percent of the total population of the country. Thus, cities with more than 100,000 population in 1979 accounted for 60.5 percent of the city-dwellers and 37.7 percent of the total population; the corresponding figures in 1970 were 55.5 percent and 31.2 percent.

In the 20 years between 1959 and 1979 the number of large cities increased from 148 to 272 and the total inhabitants in them rose from 48.6 million to 98.8 million. In this period the number of inhabitants more than doubled in 92 large cities. In 21 cities it more than tripled. The population in such cities as Tol'yatti, Bratsk, and Odintsovo increased more than five times, while Naberezhnyye Chelny, Nizhnekamsk, Nizhnevartovsk, Surgut, and Shevchenko were not even cities 20 years ago.

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Many large cities that have appeared since the revolution developed in "empty" places. Industrialization of the country and the development of industry in formerly backward national regions in conformity with the Leninist nationality policy of the Communist Party and Soviet Government played the main part in their formation. The development of new hard coal fields led to building the cities of Kopeysk (146,000 population),²⁹ Angren (106,000), Vorkuta (96,000), Mezhdurechensk (91,000), Korkino (66,000), and Inta (52,000). Numerous other cities are associated by origin with industrial development: petroleum extraction and refining — Salavat (137,000 population), Al'met'yevsk (110,000), and in recent years Nizhnevartovsk (109,000), Surgut (107,000), and Oktyabr'skiy (88,000); ferrous metallurgy — Magnitogorsk (406,000), Sumgait (190,000), Elektrostal' (139,000), Rustavi (129,000), and Novotroitsk (96,000); non-ferrous metallurgy — Noril'sk (180,000), Almalyk (101,000), and Balkhash (79,000). Growth of the chemical industry led to the appearance of Angarsk (239,000 population), Chirchik (132,000), Novokuybyshevsk (109,000), and Kokhtla-Yarve (72,000). The major centers of machine building in the 1960's and 1970's became Tol'yatti (502,000) and Naberezhnyye Chelny (301,000). It is also possible to consider as essentially new cities such major cities as Novokuznetsk (541,000), Dushanbe (493,000), Murmansk (381,000), Kamensk-Ural'skiy (187,000), Berezniki (185,000), Lisichansk (120,000), and several others which had less than 10,000 population in 1926.

Cities have grown very rapidly in the formerly backward national frontiers. Before World War II and in the first postwar years this growth was primarily the result of migration of workers from Russian and Ukrainian oblasts, but in the last 2-3 decades it has been chiefly migration by indigenous nationalities to the cities. Population growth has been especially great in the capitals of the Union and autonomous republics. Thus, between 1939 and 1979 the populations of Dushanbe, Frunze, Minsk, and Yerevan increased by more than five times, Kishinev and Alma-Ata more than quadrupled, Tashkent more than tripled, and so on.

Industrial development, growth of the working class and intelligentsia in the republics and the marked tendency toward homogeneous social concentration in the population of all republics are characteristics of the phase of developed socialism that are reflected, among other indicators, in the fact that differences among the republics in percentage of urban population are gradually decreasing. In 1940 urban inhabitants accounted for just 13 percent of the population of Moldavia and in Tajikistan, Belorussia, Kirghizia, Lithuania, and Uzbekistan their proportion ranged from one-fifth to one-fourth of the total population; even in the least urbanized republics today urban inhabitants are 35-40 percent of the total population. Urban population exceeds rural population in 10 of the Union republics.

Steps are being taken to slow down the growth of the largest cities because further concentration of population there can have certain negative consequences. One of these steps is the formation of satellite cities. In addition, considerable attention during the building of communism is being focused on eliminating the significant differences between the city and the countryside. The kolkhoz villages and towns are gradually

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being transformed into large urban-type populated points and cultural-domestic living conditions for the rural population are beginning to approach conditions in the city.

The average population density is a result, on the one hand, of the rural population concentrated in a particular area (it is concentrated chiefly in the zones most favorable for agriculture) and, on the other hand, by the population of urban settlements located in the same area. The latter are located at isolated points or centers in regions with sparse agricultural population (for example in the northern part of the country). Most often, however, well developed systems of urban settlement coincide in territory with concentrations of agricultural population. This situation is characteristic of the central zone of the USSR, the mountain valleys of the Caucasus, and the oases in Central Asia. It is a result of long-term economic development of these areas.

The following figures illustrate the substantial fluctuations of population density for particular regions of the country. The average density of the USSR in 1979 was 11.8 persons per square kilometer. This indicator rises to 35 in the European part of the country and drops to three in the Asiatic part. Moldavia has the highest population density, 117 persons per square kilometer, and Turkmenistan has the lowest, 5.7. The average density in the most densely settled oblasts is as follows: Andizhanskaya — 321; Moscow (with the city of Moscow) — 306; Ferganskaya — 239; Tashkentskaya (with the city of Tashkent) — 229; Donetskaya — 195; Khorezmskaya — 155; Kiev (with the city of Kiev) — 141; Namanganskaya — 139; L'vovskaya — 118; Dnepropetrovskaya — 114; Chernovitskaya — 110; and, Voroshilovgradskaya — 104. Population density is just 1-2 persons per square kilometer in Altayskiy, Krasnoyarskiy and Khabarovskiy krays, Dzhzhkazganskaya, Mangyshlaksкая, and Tyumenskaya oblasts, and the Tuvi ASSR; in the Yakut ASSR and Magadanskaya Oblast density is only 0.3-0.4 persons per square kilometer. It is even lower in certain autonomous okrugs. The Evenki, Taymyr, and Koryak autonomous okrugs have only one person per 10-50 square kilometers.³⁰

It should be emphasized that while the overall population density of the USSR is steadily rising in conformity with the growth in population, the density of rural population has been declining for several decades already (see Table 9 below).

Table 9. Change in Population Density

Year	USSR	Rural
1913	7.1	5.8
1917	7.7	6.0
1940	8.7	5.8
1959	9.3	4.9
1970	10.8	4.7
1979	11.8	4.4

In postwar times both the percentage of rural population and the absolute number have declined almost continuously. Rural population in 1940 was

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131 million; in 1959 it was 108.8 million, in 1970 — 105.7 million, and in 1979 just 98.8 million. Thus, the rural population has decreased 32.2 million or 32.6 percent since 1940. The average annual decrease in 1940-1959 was 1,170,000, while in 1959-1970 it was 280,000, and in 1970-1979 — 765,000.

As was also true with natural growth, there is great variety in the change of rural population by Union republics (see Table 10 below).

Table 10. Changes of Rural Population by Union Republics (in percentage)*

	1970/59	1979/1970	1979/1959
USSR	97.1	93.5	90.8
RSFSR	87.8	85.9	75.4
Ukrainian SSR	94.3	89.8	84.7
Belorussian SSR	91.4	84.3	77.1
Uzbek SSR	138.7	120.9	167.7
Kazakh SSR	123.8	104.5	129.4
Georgian SSR	105.0	98.7	103.6
Azerbaijan SSR	132.3	112.0	146.5
Lithuanian SSR	93.5	85.9	80.3
Moldavian SSR	108.8	98.3	106.9
Latvian SSR	96.6	89.5	86.5
Kirghiz SSR	133.9	117.9	157.9
Tajik SSR	136.7	135.9	185.7
Armenian SSR	114.6	102.8	117.8
Turkmen SSR	137.9	127.7	176.1
Estonian SSR	91.2	93.5	85.2

* "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g.," op. cit., p 11.

In the 20 years between 1959 and 1979 rural population on the average for the country declined by 9.2 percent (since 1970 it has declined by 6.5 percent). In six republics (the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the Baltic republics) it dropped by 22.0 percent (13.7 percent since 1970). In the same time the rural population of the Central Asian republics increased by 69.7 percent (23.3 percent since 1970).

Even greater differences are observed for particular oblasts of the various republics. Thus, the rural population of Murmanskaya Oblast more than doubled in these 20 years, while the rural population of Pskovskaya Oblast increased 45.3 percent, and in Novgorodskaya Oblast the rise was 43.2 percent. In Ferganskaya, Surkhandar'inskaya, Andizhanskaya, and Bukharskaya oblasts of the Uzbek SSR and most of the oblasts of the other Central Asian republics rural population increased 1.7-2.0 times.³¹

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Educational Level

Data on the contemporary educational level of the population testifies to the enormous progress of our country in cultural development. Illiteracy has been virtually eliminated in the USSR. In 1979 just 0.2 percent of the population between the ages of 9 and 49 were illiterate.

The first data on the percentage of literate persons in our country came from the census of 1897. At that time just 28.4 percent of the population was literate (40.3 percent of the men and 16.6 percent of the women).³² The literacy rate was even lower among rural inhabitants, an average of 23.8 percent (35.5 percent among men and 12.5 percent among women). The indigenous population of Central Asia, the Far North, and the other frontier regions of Tsarist Russia was almost universally illiterate.

The proportion of illiterate persons dropped significantly in the very first years of Soviet power as the result of the cultural revolution. Thus, by 1926 the percentage of literate persons compared to 1897 had doubled, and among women it rose 2.6 times. Before the Great Patriotic War the percentage of illiterate persons had dropped to 12.6, then in 1959 it was 1.5, and in 1970 just 0.3. Most of the persons who are illiterate today are persons who were unable to attend school because of physical handicap or chronic illness.³³

The scientific-technical revolution makes it necessary to train highly qualified specialists for all sectors of the national economy. In the 1978-79 school year 98,245,000 persons in the USSR were involved in the various forms of education. This was 37.4 percent of the entire population. The number of students in higher and secondary specialized schools is rising rapidly. The number of students at higher educational institutions has increased 6.3 times since before the war, and the number of students at secondary specialized schools has risen 4.8 times.³⁴ Universal compulsory secondary education has been implemented in our country.

The group of persons with higher and secondary education is growing every year. In the nine years between 1970 and 1979 the number of persons with higher or secondary education³⁵ increased 44 percent, while the number who had completed higher education rose 78.8 percent. One out of 10 members of the working population has completed higher education (in 1970 it was 6.5 percent). In 1979 there were 638 persons with higher or secondary education per 1,000 inhabitants above the age of 10 (among the working population this figure is 805). It is noteworthy that the proportion of persons with higher or secondary education among men and women is converging (the respective figures in 1979 were 685 and 597 per 1,000 persons above the age of 10). For persons employed in the national economy the figures for men and women have become practically the same: 810 and 801 respectively.³⁶

The educational level of urban and rural inhabitants is gradually converging, reflecting the trend toward elimination of significant differences between the city and the countryside in the phase of developed socialism. It is common knowledge that the educational level in the countryside has always been much lower. In 1939 there were 52 persons with higher and

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secondary education in the rural areas per 1,000 population above the age of 10 (barely one-fifth of the figure for cities) and just two persons with higher education (barely one-tenth of the figure for cities).

By 1979 the proportion of persons with higher or secondary education in the rural areas had increased 9.5 times and for persons with higher education it had risen 12.5 times. Today the rural areas have 492 persons with higher or secondary education per 1,000 population (the figure for cities is 723) and 25 persons with higher education (in the cities — 93).³⁷ Thus, the difference in educational levels between urban and rural inhabitants is gradually leveling out, although rural areas continue to lag in the number of persons with higher education.

During the years of Soviet power, and especially in the period of mature socialism, the education level of the population of formerly backward national regions of the country has risen sharply. Table 11 (below) reflects the changes in educational level by Union republics.

Table 11. Educational Level of the Population of the Union Republic*

	Persons with Higher or Secondary Education per 1,000 Population 10 Years of Age and Older			Increase over 1953 (%)	
	1959	1970	1979	1970	1979
USSR	361	483	638	133.8	176.7
RSFSR	361	489	645	135.5	178.7
Ukrainian SSR	373	494	630	132.4	168.9
Belorussian SSR	304	440	594	144.7	195.4
Uzbek SSR	354	458	639	129.4	180.5
Kazakh SSR	347	468	633	134.9	182.4
Georgian SSR	448	554	698	123.7	155.8
Azerbaijan SSR	400	471	652	117.8	163.0
Lithuanian SSR	232	382	558	164.7	240.5
Moldavian SSR	264	397	572	150.4	216.7
Latvian SSR	431	517	642	120.0	149.0
Kirghiz SSR	342	452	614	132.2	179.5
Tajik SSR	325	420	578	129.2	177.8
Armenian SSR	445	516	713	116.0	160.2
Turkmen SSR	387	475	620	122.7	160.2
Estonian SSR	386	506	630	131.1	163.2

*"Naseleniye SSSR po Dannym Vsevoynuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1979 goda " op. cit., pp 21, 22.

The educational level in most of the autonomous republics is equal to or higher than the USSR average. This index is especially high in the Komi, Yakut, Adzhar, Abkhaz, Karelian, North Ossetian, and Buryat ASSR's. It should be noted that as recently as 1939 the educational level of all the republics of Central Asia was just one-half to two-fifths of the national average.³⁸

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The Soviet Union today has trained large numbers of skilled workers for various sectors of the economy, science, and culture. Both men and women, urban and rural, have attained a high educational and cultural-technical level, as have both the peoples of the central regions and the peoples of the formerly backward national frontiers.

Nationality and Native Language

The Soviet Union has one of the most diverse nationality compositions of the world's countries. More than 100 peoples speaking languages of different linguistic groups populate the USSR. Before the October revolution the peoples of Russia were in different stages of socioeconomic development. Among the small peoples of the North clan-tribal ways still predominated, whereas developed capitalist relations prevailed among the large peoples of the European part of the country. The revolution marks the beginning of radical social, economic, and cultural-domestic transformations. The social structure of society was reorganized. Class privileges and private ownership of the means of production were eliminated and the closed societies and cultural isolation of particular social groups were overcome.

Industrialization of the country and the growth of large cities, the formation of autonomous national regions, and constant economic and cultural assistance to formerly backward peoples brought about the elimination of economic and cultural backwardness and an evening out of the levels of development of the particular peoples.

Two basic trends are characteristic of the national development of the peoples of the Soviet Union: the flourishing and convergence of socialist peoples in the course of building socialism. The rate of convergence is steadily increasing. This process is accompanied by widespread development of bilingualism and a growing role for the Russian language as the language of communication between peoples. Practical implementation by the party of Lenin's nationality policy, the policy of equality and friendship among peoples, is one of the greatest achievements of socialism. A new historical community has arisen in our country during the years of building socialism. This is the Soviet people.

These trends do not, however, mean that the factors associated with national self-awareness or the peoples' linguistic-cultural and other differences no longer have any effect. These factors have played an important role in the life of our multinational state and will continue to do so for a long time in the future. For this reason it is very important, both on the theoretical and practical levels, to keep track of the nationality and linguistic affiliations of the population and study nationality processes. Specifically, it is hard to overstate the importance of analyzing the ethno-linguistic situation for cultural development in the USSR.

This is why one of the fundamental objectives of all Soviet censuses has been to determine the nationality and linguistic composition of the population. In the 1979 census, as in previous censuses, the determination of nationality affiliation was based on the self-consciousness of the

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persons questioned and was accomplished by asking directly about nationality. The nationality of children was determined by their parents. Only in cases where the father and mother belonged to different nationalities and themselves found it difficult to state the nationality of their children it was recommended that the mother's nationality be given preference. If the person being questioned had difficulty naming any one particular native language, the questionnaire called for the language which he spoke best or usually used in the family. For children who were not yet talking, the native language in the census was taken to be the ordinary language of conversation in the family. The census also asked if there were any second languages of the USSR peoples that the individual spoke fluently.

A comparison of findings from the last three censuses of the USSR shows that significant changes are taking place in the nationality and linguistic composition of the population of our country. But these changes involve only the numerical ratio of different peoples and the ratios between the nationalities and their corresponding native languages. In the first two decades of Soviet power processes of ethnic consolidation which reduced the total number of peoples were typical;³⁹ they no longer play a significant role.

The published data from the 1979 census single out 92 peoples with more than 10,000 members.⁴⁰ In addition, a number of smaller peoples are included in the column of "other nationalities."

For a detailed consideration of the changes in the population of different peoples it is useful to group the data on all peoples identified by the 1979 census in three tables (see Tables 12-14 below). It can be seen from

Table 12. Changes in the Population of the Peoples Making Up the Union Republics*

	Population by Census Data, in thousands			1979 as % of		Average Annual Growth Rate (%)	
	1959	1970	1979	1959	1970	1959-1979	1970-1979
Russians	114,114	129,015	137,397	120.4	106.5	9.3	7.0
Ukrainian	37,253	40,753	42,347	113.7	103.9	6.4	4.2
Uzbeks	6,015	9,195	12,456	207.1	135.5	37.0	34.3
Belorussian	7,913	9,052	9,463	119.6	104.5	9.0	4.9
Kazakhs	3,622	5,299	6,556	181.0	123.7	30.1	27.9
Azerbaijanis	2,940	4,380	5,477	186.3	125.0	31.6	25.1
Armenian	2,787	3,559	4,151	148.9	116.6	20.1	17.2
Georgians	2,692	3,245	3,571	132.7	110.0	14.3	10.7
Moldavians	2,214	2,698	2,968	134.1	110.0	14.8	10.7
Tajiks	1,397	2,136	2,898	207.4	135.7	37.1	34.5
Lithuanians	2,326	2,665	2,851	122.6	107.0	10.6	7.6
Turkmens	1,002	1,525	2,028	202.4	133.0	35.9	32.1
Kirghiz	969	1,452	1,906	196.7	131.3	34.4	30.7
Latvians	1,400	1,430	1,439	102.8	100.6	1.4	0.7
Estonians	989	1,007	1,020	103.1	101.3	1.6	1.5

* "Itogi Vsevoynuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1970 g.," op. cit., pp 9-11;
 "Naseleniye SSSR po Dannym Vsevoynuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1979 goda,"
 op. cit., pp 23-26.

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Table 13. Changes in the Population of the Primary Peoples Making Up the Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Oblasts, and Autonomous Okrugs*

	Population in Thousands by the Census of			1979 as % of	
	1959	1970	1979	1959	1970
Tatars	4,968	5,931	6,317	127.2	106.5
Jews	2,268	2,151	1,811	79.9	84.2
Chuvashes	1,470	1,694	1,751	119.1	103.4
Peoples of Daghestan	945	1,365	1,657	175.3	121.4
Bashkirs	989	1,240	1,371	138.6	110.6
Mordvilians	1,285	1,263	1,192	92.8	94.4
Chechens	419	613	756	180.4	123.3
Udmurts	625	704	714	114.2	101.4
Maris	504	599	622	123.4	103.8
Ossetians	413	488	542	131.2	111.1
Komis and Komi-Permyaks	431	475	478	110.9	100.6
Buryats	253	315	353	139.5	112.1
Yakuts	233	296	328	140.8	110.8
Kabardinians	204	280	322	157.8	115.0
Kara-Kalpaks	173	236	303	175.1	128.4
Ingushes	106	158	186	175.5	117.7
Tuvis	100	139	166	166.0	119.4
Peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East	130	153	158	121.5	103.3
Kalmyks	106	137	147	138.7	107.3
Karelians	167	146	138	82.6	94.5
Karachayevians	81	113	131	161.7	115.9
Adygeys	80	100	109	136.3	109.0
Abkhazes	65	83	91	140.0	109.6
Khakasses	57	67	71	124.6	106.0
Balkars	42	60	66	157.1	110.0
Altays	45	56	60	133.3	107.1
Cherkesses	30	40	46	153.3	115.0

* "Itogi Vseoyuznoy Perepisi Maseleniya 1970 g.," op. cit., pp 9-11;
 "Naseleniye SSSR po Dannym Vseoyuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1979 goda," op. cit., pp 23-26.

the figures in these tables that while the total population of the country rose 25.7 percent between 1959 and 1979, the number of Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmens, Dungsans, Uighurs, and Turks more than doubled, the population of Kirghiz, Azerbaijanis, Kazakhs, Chechens, Ingushes, Kara-Kalpaks, peoples of Daghestan, Kurds, and Tates increased 75-100 percent; the population of Kabardinians, Tuvis, Karachayevians, Balkars, Cherkesses, and Gypsies rose 50-75 percent; the number of Armenians, Moldavians, Georgians, Yakuts, Abkhazes, Buryats, Kalmyks, Bashkirs, Adygeys, Altays, Ossetians, Tatars, Persians, Abazinians, and Gagauzes rose 25-50 percent; the population of

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Table 14. Changes in the Population of Peoples That Do Not Form Autonomous National Regions*

	Population in Thousands by the Census of			1979 as % of	
	1959	1970	1979	1959	1970
Germans	1,620	1,846	1,936	119.5	104.9
Poles	1,380	1,167	1,151	83.4	98.6
Koreans	314	357	389	123.9	109.0
Bulgarians	324	351	361	111.4	102.8
Greeks	309	337	344	111.3	102.1
Uighurs	95	173	211	222.1	122.0
Gypsies	132	175	209	158.3	119.4
Gagauzes	124	157	173	139.5	110.2
Hungarians	155	166	171	110.3	103.0
Romanians	106	119	129	121.7	108.4
Kurds	59	89	116	196.6	130.3
Turks	35	79	93	265.7	117.7
Finns	93	85	77	82.8	90.6
Dungans	22	39	52	236.4	133.3
Persians	21	28	31	147.6	110.7
Abazians	20	25	29	145.0	116.0
Assyrians	22	24	25	113.6	104.2
Tates	11	17	22	200.0	129.4
Shors	15	16	16	106.7	100.0

* "Itogi Vsevoyuznoy Perepisi Maseleniya 1970 g.," op. cit., pp 9-11;
 "Naseleniye SSSR po Dannym Vsevoyuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1979 goda," op.
 cit., pp 23-26.

Lithuanians, Russians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Khakasses, Maris, peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East, Chuvashes, Udmurts, Komis and Komi-Permyaks, Koreans, Romanians, Germans, Assyrians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Hungarians increased 10-25 percent; and the number of Estonians, Latvians, and Shors rose less than 10 percent. The population of Mordvinians, Karelians, Jews, Poles, and Finns decreased. In the period between the last two censuses the growth rate has dropped for virtually all the peoples of the country. But this decrease is occurring faster among peoples which had lower growth at an earlier time and more slowly among peoples with high growth. Thus, the average annual growth rate of Central Asian peoples in 1970-1979 declined 13.8 percent (from 39.1 to 33.7 per 1,000 population) compared to 1959-1970, while among Russians it dropped 38.1 percent (from 11.3 to 7 per thousand), for Belorussians almost in one-half and for Ukrainians by one-third at a time when the decline in the average annual growth rate for the country as a whole was 31.3 percent, from 13.4 to 9.2 per 1,000 population. Despite some decline in the last decade the indexes of rate of average annual growth among the peoples of Central Asia are so high that it is hard to find significant ethnic population groups anywhere in the world with a comparable rate of growth.

The differences in growth have changed the proportions of particular peoples in the population of the country (see Table 15 below).

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Table 15. Percentage of Peoples in the Population of the USSR

People or Group of Peoples	1959	1970	1979
Russians	54.7	53.4	52.4
Ukrainians	17.8	16.9	16.2
Belorussians	3.8	3.7	3.6
Baltic Peoples	2.3	2.1	2.1
Peoples of the Volga	4.9	4.9	4.8
Caucasian Peoples	5.2	6.1	6.6
Peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan	6.5	8.5	10.3
Other Peoples	4.8	4.4	4.0

The proportions of peoples belonging to the various language groups have also changed. Thus, the proportion of peoples of the Slavic group declined from 77.1 percent in 1959 to 74.6 in 1970 and 72.8 percent in 1979, while the proportion of peoples of the Turkic group, by contrast, rose from 11.1 to 13.4 and 15.2 percent.

The factors that give rise to the difference in the population of peoples are very diverse. The principal ones are unequal natural growth among different peoples (which in fact amounts to different birth rates because differences in the mortality rate are minimal for a large majority of the peoples of the country) and the processes of dissolution of varied ethnic groups in a different nationality environment. During Soviet times the processes have lost their former contradictory character. They are now the natural result of close economic and cultural bonds. They involve chiefly groups who are spread out in settlement or cut off from the primary ethnic population and living surrounded by other peoples. These processes occur especially fast in the cities where marriages between persons of different nationalities are most common and the transition from one language to another occurs more quickly.

The processes of dissolution in a different nationality environment have a significant impact on change in the size of the population of certain peoples of the Volga and European North (above all the Mordvinians, Udmurts, Karelians, Finns, Komis, and Komi-Permyaks) as well as Jews and Poles. These are the peoples who typically mix most with other ethnic groups, usually neighboring ones. It is not accidental that the smallest growth, and even some reductions in population, have occurred among peoples who have the lowest percentage of members who consider the language of their nationality to be their native language and the highest percentage who are fluent in a second language of the USSR peoples.

The unequal growth observed among different peoples and, to a lesser degree, population migration have led to a slight change in the nationality composition of the Union republics. This composition is represented in general form by Table 16 (below). This table gives material on the three largest peoples of each republic: the indigenous people, Russians, Ukrainians, and the largest other people.

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Table 16. Proportions of the Largest Peoples (as % of the Population of the Union Republics)*

	1959				1979			
	A.Ind.	B.Rus.	C.Ukr.	D.Oth.	A.Ind.	B.Rus.	C.Ukr.	D.Oth.
RSFSR	83.3	-	2.9	3.5	82.6	-	2.7	3.6
Ukrainian SSR	76.8	16.9	-	2.0	73.6	21.1	-	1.3
Belorussian SSR	81.1	8.2	1.7	6.7	79.4	11.9	2.4	4.2
Uzbek SSR	61.1	13.5	1.1	5.4	68.7	10.8	0.7	4.2
Kazakh SSR	29.8	43.2	8.3	2.1	36.0	40.8	6.1	2.1
Georgian SSR	64.3	10.1	1.3	11.0	68.8	7.4	0.9	9.0
Azerbaijan SSR	67.5	13.6	0.7	12.0	78.1	7.9	-	7.9
Lithuanian SSR	79.3	8.5	0.7	8.5	80.0	8.9	0.9	7.3
Moldavian SSR	65.4	10.2	14.6	3.3	63.9	12.8	14.2	3.5
Latvian SSR	62.0	26.6	1.4	2.9	53.7	32.8	2.7	4.5
Kirghiz SSR	40.5	30.2	6.6	10.6	47.9	25.9	3.1	12.1
Tajik SSR	53.1	13.3	1.4	23.0	58.8	10.4	0.9	22.9
Armenian SSR	88.0	3.2	0.3	6.1	89.7	2.3	-	5.3
Turkmen SSR	60.9	17.3	1.4	8.3	68.4	12.6	1.3	8.5
Estonian SSR	74.6	20.1	1.3	1.4	64.7	27.9	2.5	1.6

* "Itogi Vsevoyuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1970 g.," op. cit., pp 12-15;
 "Naseleniye SSSR po Dannym Vsevoyuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1979 goda," op. cit., pp 27-30.

Key: (A) Indigenous Peoples;
 (B) Russians;
 (C) Ukrainians;
 (D) Largest Other People [Largest Other People in the RSFSR, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan — Tatars; Ukraine — Jews; Belorussia and Lithuania — Poles; Georgia and Azerbaijan — Armenians; Moldavia — Gagauzes; Latvia — Belorussians; Kirghizia, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan — Uzbeks; Armenia — Azerbaijani; Estonia — Belorussians.]

Because the Russians constitute an important component of the population in all republics, it is interesting to analyze how their population has changed in each republic. Table 17 shows that the number of Russians in Georgia and Azerbaijan has declined slightly. But in all the other republics (except the RSFSR) it has increased much more than would be expected considering the natural growth of this people. If we arbitrarily take the growth to be the same for all republics and overlook the effect of other factors, we find that in the last 20 years 1.8 million Russians moved to Central Asia and Kazakhstan, almost 2 million to the Ukraine, more than 300,000 to Belorussia, and 300,000 to the Baltic republics. In reality these figures would be somewhat lower, especially for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, because this index rises in regions with high birth rates and in-migration

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(younger members of the population participate in migration processes). It is entirely likely that fewer Russians than the computation indicates moved to the Ukraine also. After all, as long ago as 1959 more than 2 million Ukrainians in the USSR listed their native language as Russian, and in the intervening time some of them (or their children) could also have changed their national self-identification.

Table 17. Number of Russians by Union Republics*

	1959	1979	1979 as % of 1959
USSR	114,114,000	137,397,000	120.4
RSFSR	97,864,000	113,522,000	116.0
Ukrainian SSR	7,091,000	10,472,000	147.7
Belorussian SSR	660,000	1,134,000	171.8
Uzbek SSR	1,114,000	1,666,000	149.6
Kazakh SSR	3,950,000	5,991,000	151.7
Georgian SSR	408,000	372,000	91.2
Azerbaijan SSR	501,000	475,000	94.8
Lithuanian SSR	231,000	303,000	131.2
Moldavian SSR	293,000	506,000	172.2
Latvian SSR	556,000	821,000	147.7
Kirghiz SSR	624,000	912,000	146.2
Tajik SSR	263,000	395,000	150.2
Armenian SSR	56,000	70,000	125.0
Turkmen SSR	263,000	349,000	132.7
Estonian SSR	240,000	409,000	170.4

*"Itogi Vseoyuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1970 g.," op. cit., pp 12-15;
 "Naseleniye SSSR po Dannym Vseoyuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1979 goda," op. cit., pp 27-30.

Despite the influx of Russians from outside, their proportion has declined in all the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. This trend shows even more in the republics of the Transcaucasus where there has been no influx of Russians. In all the remaining republics where the indigenous population is not growing very fast, the proportion of Russians has increased significantly. The proportion of Russians in the RSFSR has dropped slightly.

The proportion of indigenous peoples has increased in some Union republics (the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus, Kazakhstan, and Lithuania) while in others it has decreased. This is the result of the interaction of three factors. They are, in order of importance, different birth rates, population migration, and the processes of dissolution of varied ethnic elements in a national environment.

In most cases the population of nationalities is close to the number of persons who indicate the language of that nationality as their native language. In the 1979 census questionnaires 93.1 percent of the population gave the language of their nationality as their native language.⁴¹ The census found

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18.1 million persons who gave their native language as a language other than the language of their nationality. Of them 16.3 million named Russian as their native language, while others said Ukrainian, Belorussian, Tatar, Georgian, Tajik, Uzbek, and so on. In all the census found 153.5 million people who gave Russian as their native language, compared to 141.8 million in 1970. The percentage of persons whose native language is the language of their nationality is very high among the primary peoples of the Union republics, usually more than 95 percent. Among Armenians, almost one-fourth of whom live outside their republics, the percentage declines to 90.7, and for Belorussians and Ukrainians, whose language is close to Russian, the figures are 74.2 and 82.8 percent respectively.⁴²

The percentage of persons who named the language of their nationality as their native language among the primary peoples of the autonomous republics and oblasts varies widely, but it is generally quite high. (Only among the Bashkirs, Karelians, Mordvinians, and Udmurts is the figure less than 80 percent). We observe a very different picture for peoples who are spread out in their pattern of settlement. Among the Jews, only a small proportion of whom live in the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, 14.2 percent consider the language of their nationality to be their native language, while among Poles it is 29.1 percent, Persians — 30.7 percent, Greeks — 38 percent, Finns — 40.9 percent, and so on.

In addition to the 16.3 million non-Russian people who gave the Russian language as their native language in the census, 61.3 million stated that they speak Russian fluently as a second language (in 1970 it was 41.9 percent). Thus, 77.6 million people, which is 62.2 percent of the non-Russian population of the USSR, are fluent in Russian. A total of 214.8 million persons, or 81.9 percent of the population of the country, have a good knowledge of Russian. The Russian language, which has become the language of communication among nationalities, plays an important role in the process of convergence of the USSR peoples. Fluency in this language helps all peoples of the country to take advantage of the advances of science and culture.

Other languages of the USSR peoples in addition to Russian are common in the country as second languages. A total of 12.3 million people, 4.7 percent of the population, reported fluency in these languages. The most widespread were the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, Tatar, Moldavian, Azerbaijani, Tajik, Georgian, and others.⁴³

The results of the census testify to the enormous progress made by the Soviet people in the last decade. The findings of the census will be used to solve many problems facing our country. At the same time, they confirm the words spoken by L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress that "The problems of the environment and population, which have become critical recently, must not be overlooked by Soviet scientists. Improving socialist use of natural resources and working out an effective demographic policy are important challenges for all the natural and social sciences."⁴⁴ Foremost among these problems are the decline in the rate of natural population growth in a number of regions of the country which need labor most, the rapid decrease in the rural population in certain regions and equally rapid growth in others (although in many cases this growth is not the result

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of economic considerations), and the rise in the number of divorces, which has reached one-third of the total number of marriages performed.⁴⁵ The experience of building socialism in our country shows that with a planned economy and purposeful policies all of these problems can be solved relatively fast.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXV S"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 126.
2. Ibid., pp 215-222.
3. "Kompleksnyye Problemy Razvitya Nechernozem'ya" [Multifaceted Problems of Development of Non-Chernozem Region], Moscow, 1977, p 5.
4. "Materialy XXV S"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1977 [sic], p 43.
5. Brezhnev, L. I., "Leninskim Kursom" [By a Leninist Course], Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, pp 155-156.
6. See, for example, S. I. Bruk, "Ethnodemographic Problems in the USSR (based on the findings of the 1970 census)," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1971, No 4, pp 8-30; S. I. Bruk, "Nationality and Language in the 1970 Census," VESTNIK STATISTIKI, 1972, No 5, pp 42-54; S. I. Bruk and M. N. Guboglo, "The Development and Interaction of Ethnodemographic and Ethnolinguistic Processes in Soviet Society in the Current Phase," ISTORIYA SSSR, 1974, No 5, pp 26-45; S. I. Bruk and M. N. Guboglo, "Bilingualism and Convergence of Peoples in the USSR (based on the findings of the 1970 census)," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1975, No 4, pp 18-32; G. M. Maksimov, "Change in the USSR Population (1959-1970)," ISTORIYA SSSR, 1971, No 5, pp 3-42, and others.
7. It is a relatively established fact (for our country) that a large majority of women give birth to one child (about four-fifths of those that have entered marriage), while about two-thirds of those who have had one child have a second, and less than one-third of those who have two children have a third. VESTNIK STATISTIKI, 1979, No 11, "Statistical Appendices," p 65.
8. "Naseleniye SSSR po Dannym Vsesoyuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1979 g.," [The USSR Population Based on Data from the 1979 All-Union Census], Moscow, 1980.
9. We must note the exceptionally great coincidence of data of the census and the ongoing count. The ongoing count figures published by the USSR Central Statistical Administration in 1979 for the start of 1978 (information on total population by republics, number of inhabitants in the cities, proportion of urban and rural population, and the breakdown by sex) corresponded exactly to the census figures (if we correct for one year of natural population growth, which has been stable in recent

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years). Such coincidence is by no means typical in the world today, not even in countries with seemingly well-organized population records. In the United States, for example, the precision of the ongoing count is estimated at ± 2.5 -5 percent. In India the 1971 census counted 14 million fewer people than had been expected based on ongoing counts.

10. "Naseleniye SSSR..." op. cit., pp 3, 16.
11. Figures for 1913 are for the end of the year, while for 1959 and 1970 they are from a census taken on 15 January, and for 1979 the census was on 17 January. The other figures are for the beginning of the year. "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR za 60 Let (Yubileynyy Statisticheskiy Yezhegodnik)" [The USSR Economy over 60 Years (Anniversary Statistical Yearbook)], Moscow, 1977, p 7.
12. "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy Perepisi Naseleniya 1959 g. (SSSR)" [Results of the 1959 All-Union Census (USSR)], Moscow, 1962, pp 20-29; "Naseleniye SSSR...", op. cit., pp 5-11.
13. "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR ...," op. cit., pp 45-48; "Naseleniye SSSR...", op. cit., pp 5-11.
14. Ibid.
15. "Narodonaseleniya Stran Mira" [Population of the World's Countries], p 170.
16. "Population and Vital Statistics Report, Statistical Papers," United Nations, New York, 1979, No 2.
17. "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g. Statist. Yezhegodnik" [The USSR Economy in 1978. Statistical Year Book], Moscow, 1979, p 86.
18. "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR...", op. cit., p 71.
19. Ibid., p 28.
20. "Narodonaseleniya Stran Mira," op. cit., p 130.
21. Ibid., p 129.
22. "Itogi...", op. cit., Vol 4, p 383.
23. "Naseleniye SSSR...", op. cit., p 17.
24. "Itogi...", op. cit., Vol II, pp 68, 76, 250.
25. "Narodonaseleniya Stran Mira," op. cit., pp 475, 476; "Naseleniye SSSR...", op. cit., p 3.
26. "Naseleniye SSSR...", op. cit., p 3.
27. Ibid.

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28. By the end of 1979 two more cities, Perm' and Kazan', had reached a population of 1 million.
29. The figures for cities with more than 100,000 population are given as of 17 January 1979; for cities with less than 100,000 the figures are for 1 January 1977. ("Naseleniye SSSR...", op. cit., pp 11-15; "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR...", op. cit., pp 59-68).
30. "Naseleniye SSSR...", op. cit., pp 4-11; "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR...", op. cit., pp 12-17.
31. "Itogi...", op. cit., Vol 1, pp 10-21; "Naseleniye SSSR...", op. cit., pp 4-11.
32. All data on literacy are given for persons in the age bracket 9-49.
33. "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR...", op. cit., p 55; "Naseleniye SSSR...", op. cit., p 18.
34. "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g.", op. cit., p 465.
35. Here and in what follows we are referring to both complete and incomplete secondary education.
36. "Naseleniye SSSR...", op. cit., pp 19, 20.
37. Ibid., p 21.
38. Ibid., p 22; "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR za 60 Let...", op. cit., pp 57, 58.
39. In processing the materials of the 1926 census 194 ethnic groups were listed; the 1959 census identified only 109 ethnic units ("Vsesoyuznaya Perepis' Naseleniya 1927 g." [The 1927 All-Union Census], Vol XVII, Moscow, 1929, pp 8-13; "Itogi...", op. cit., pp 184-189).
40. Data were published only on the small peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East, as well as Daghestan, numbering less than 10,000 ("Naseleniye SSSR...", op. cit., pp 23-26).
41. It should be emphasized that this index has changed very little in the years of Soviet power. In 1926 it was 94.2 percent; in 1959 it was 94.3 percent and in 1970 — 93.9 percent ("Vsesoyuznaya Perepis' Naseleniya 1927 g.", op. cit., pp 8-13; "Itogi...", op. cit., p 184-189; "Naseleniye SSSR...", op. cit., pp 23-26).
42. "Naseleniye SSSR...", op. cit., pp 23-26.
43. Ibid.

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44. "Materialy XXV S"yezda...", op. cit., p 74.

45. "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 b.," op. cit., p 28.

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DEMOGRAPHY

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POPULATION GEOGRAPHY CONFERENCE OUTLINES MAIN AREAS OF STUDY

Moscow IZVESTIYA VSESoyuznogo Geograficheskogo Obschestva in Russian No 3,
May-Jun 80 Vol 112 pp 270-273

[Resolution: "Resolution of the 4th All-Union Scientific Conference on Population Geography"]

[Text] Following a decision of the 6th Congress of the USSR Geographic Society, the 4th All-Union interdepartmental scientific conference on population geography was held in Tbilisi on 24-27 November 1979.

The organizers of the conference were the USSR Geographic Society, the Geographic Society of the Georgian SSR, the Institute of Geography imeni Vakhushiti of the Academy of Sciences Georgian SSR, and Tbilisi State University.

The principal problem of the conference was population geography within the system of comprehensive economic and social planning. Within this framework the following questions were considered: (1) geographic problems of reproduction of population and labor resources; (2) problems of urbanization and shaping settlement patterns; (3) human settlement and ecology; (4) geography of the population of mountainous regions.

More than 300 scientists working in population geography and related fields of science participated in the conference. They came from scientific research and planning institutions, planning agencies, and higher educational institutions.

Our country has made great progress since the third conference in Perm' in 1973. The Ninth Five-Year Plan was completed. The 25th party congress outlined new tasks of economic and social development and the country is now working to fulfill the 10th Five-Year Plan. The party and government have adopted resolutions on the country's most important issues, a number of statements by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, have been published, and his books "Malaya Zemlya" [Small Land], "Vozrozhdeniye" [Renaissance], and "Tselina" [The Virgin Land] came out. Our country is working hard for peace and to strengthen political and military detente.

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This has created favorable conditions for the continued development of Soviet science. In recent years there has been unquestioned growth in the role of Soviet geography and greater participation by us in international geographic relations. Holding the 23rd international geographic congress in the USSR was very helpful in this. Both at the congress itself and at symposiums held in various cities of the USSR Soviet scientists working on population geography and related issues were able to demonstrate our successes and offer them to foreign participants. Soviet subjects constituted a significant part of the total volume of work at the congress.

The geography of population and settlement has continued its successful development since the last interdepartmental conference, which was held in Perm' in 1973. Population geography is one of the most developed and dynamic branches of economic geography. Moreover, it has provided the base for the creation of new fields such as the geography of service and new interdisciplinary studies such as, for example, recreation geography. This has fostered the infusion of sociology and the humanities into the whole system of geographic sciences. The works of Soviet scientists of different ages who are involved with population geography and related issues have accomplished profound changes in the content of economic geography, which has now been officially named economic and social geography.

The place that population geography occupies within economic and social geography creates great obligations for us. We face a great deal of hard work.

I

The conference considers it essential to significantly bolster the practical science orientation of population geography and step up research on territorial problems of the reproduction of population and labor resources for the purposes of economic and social planning, scientific substantiation of state demographic policy, and rational use of labor resources. For this reason, it is wise to enhance the comprehensiveness of geodemographic research and make broader use in it of techniques from the related sciences, in particular economics, demography, and sociology.

In the current phase the most important territorial problems of reproduction of population and labor resources that demand comprehensive study are the following.

1. Optimization of interregional and interrepublic redistribution of labor resources.
2. Regulation of population redistribution between the city and the country.
3. Scientifically substantiated control of migration.

To strengthen the role of population geography in solving these problems, the following are necessary:

- further study of migrations and scientific substantiation of steps to stimulate population movement away from regions with labor surpluses;

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- development of a specific system of measures to stimulate movement of rural residents to the cities in Central Asia;
- thorough substantiation and development of recommendations on conducting an experiment in one of the largest cities in the country, involving removal of limitations on entry for permanent residence;
- investigation of the factors and motives that shape territorial differences in the demographic and migration behavior of the population;
- active participation by geographers in study and development of proposals for keeping permanent records of regular travel within towns and cities (work, cultural-domestic, and recreation travel).

II

In the area of settlement patterns the main lines of scientific study should be the following.

1. Further pure research on the theory of settlement, development of the principles of socialist settlement patterns, working out a system of basic concepts, refinement of quantitative research methods, and broader use of the "key" method — monographic studies of particular populated points and their territorial groups.
2. Retrospective analysis of the formation of settlement patterns and their elements — cities and towns.
3. Study of the interaction among territorial economic systems and settlement patterns, study of the mutual influence of transportation and settlement patterns.
4. Analysis of the ecological aspects of human settlement.
5. Evaluation of foreign experience with respect to study of the problems of settlement patterns and ways to regulate them (specifically for mountainous regions).
6. Forecasting settlement at different territorial levels.
7. Spatial aspects of managing the settlement process.

The following are offered as the primary areas of study:

- development of the questions of shaping a basic settlement framework at the national and regional levels;
- study of differentiation of a territory by the nature, problems, and conditions of settlement;

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- development of models of future settlement for different areas;
- creation of standard descriptions of territorial settlement patterns in various types of cities and towns;
- study of the processes of shaping settlement patterns and their elements;
- analysis of experience with carrying out city master plans, regional plans, and settlement plans.

The specific conditions and problems of both urban and rural settlement must be considered fully in resolving these scientific problems.

III

1. The subject matter area of regional types of ways and styles of life and geographic human ecology need intensified attention for scientifically sound reports on the quality of the environment in populated points and for recommendations on controlling the quality of the environment in places with especially high densities of human activity.
2. Coordinated work to study the quality of the environment in populated points and differences in styles of life among the population is becoming very important.
3. It is important to work out scientific recommendations on maintaining the rural population and developing a socially enriched rural way of life, especially for regions and places where out-migration to the cities has already reached a critical level, in particular for mountainous regions.
4. In the field of geographic studies of environmental quality the following are essential:
 - study population selectiveness as to environmental conditions as a factor that shapes migration, population composition, regional types of way of life, and recreation needs;
 - identify group criteria of the environmental quality of populated points that are based on the age structure of the population, its mobility, and experience with shaping segments of everyday activity;
 - study and measure the contribution of different factors to a comprehensive evaluation of the environmental quality of populated points;
 - develop a classification of territories based on the set of compensatory measures necessary to guarantee a fully satisfactory environment for populated points in different

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natural zones and with different combinations of economic sectors.

IV

Considering that the mountain regions have not been studied as closely by economic geography as the flatland regions, geographers must give greater attention to the problems of population and settlement in mountainous regions and carry out more thorough research on the use of local natural and labor resources of the mountain regions for their comprehensive, economic, and social development, including resort and recreation use. Specifically, more attention should be given to training local inhabitants for work in the cultural-domestic services sphere.

In connection with the tasks of making efficient use of local labor resources and rational organization of settlement, the possibilities should be studied of joining each mountain kolkhoz with a flatland kolkhoz without permitting too many people to leave the mountain regions.

Carrying out the above-enumerated studies, which are important for the national economy and for planning social and cultural development, will have a unifying effect for population geography and may promote the formation of new scientific collectives.

It cannot be considered normal that population geography in our country to this day has a very small number of organizationally recognized units at scientific research institutes and higher educational institutions; the higher educational system has no departments of population geography at all.

The lack of essential raw statistical data to support research in the geography of population and populated points should be emphasized.

Use of the cartographic method in all research in the field of the geography of population and settlement should be broadened.

It should be considered extremely important to preserve the interdepartmental character and strengthen the interdisciplinary character of all-Union conferences on population geography and in the future to actively involve representatives of other fields of knowledge in writing the basic reports.

Participants at the congress express their profound gratitude to the Geographic Society of the Georgian SSR, Institute of Geography imeni Vakhushti of the Academy of Sciences Georgian SSR, Tbilisi State University, and to the other Georgian institutions for good organization of the conference and their hospitality.

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